1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

island), the road makes its way from one ravine to another in many twists and turns. It was no doubt partly as a result of this topography that no central authority was ever able to maintain itself on Bali with ease. The central Balinese highlands were traditionally divided into five practically independent principalities lying side by side: Tabanan, Mĕngwi (which was vanquished and gobbled up by its neighbours in 1891), Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung.

Bali was known of old for its rather inaccessible coasts. There were only a few good places for ships to lie at anchor, and the peninsula of Bukit seems to have been a dangerous point to circumnavigate.

2

The People of Bali

There are no recent detailed demographic data for Bali. For such figures one must go back to the last census held in Indonesia, that of 1930. In the 1954 registration for the general elections the concern was of course only to obtain certain general figures regarding the number of Indonesian citizens on the island. Unfortunately the figures are not completely comparable to those for 1930. The census gave the total number of inhabitants, broken down according to country of origin, whereas the 1954 figures give the total number of inhabitants of Indonesian origin plus the number (not yet made available) of others, Asians and Europeans, who had become Indonesian citizens.

The figures for 1954 for the separate regions and for Bali as a whole[4] are given in Table 1, with those for 1930 added for purposes of comparison.[5]

Table 2 gives a few figures for the whole island in 1920[6] and 1930 as regards population groups.

The total population of Indonesian origin can be broken down according to ethnic origin into Balinese and Indonesians from elsewhere; the Balinese, in turn, can be broken down according to religion into 'Bali Hindu' (the term for the adherents of the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

161 TABLE 1: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER REGION, 1930 AND 1954

Region	1954				1930	
	<18	18+	Total	Density (per square mile)	Total	Density (per square mile)
Buleleng	113,888	144,838	258,726	307	170,658	354
Jembrana	46,907	51,990	98,897	302	47,261	148
Tabanan	101,056	138,185	239,181	727	177,166	544
Badung	106,694	148,728	255,422	1,292	192,992	976
Gianyar	88,833	123,559	211,792	1,491	164,422	1,173
Bangli	52,067	54,973	107,040	583	158,026	490
Klungkung	32,532	64,370	117,189	881		
Karangasem	100,183	131,348	231,551	696	190,888	585
Bali	660,960	858,061	1,519,041	700	1,101,353	514

685

162 TABLE 2: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER POPULATION GROUP, 1920 AND 1930

Population Group	1920	1930
Indonesians	940,777	1,092,037
Chinese	5,446	7,699
Other non-Indonesian Asians	767	1,324
Europeans	245	403
Total	947,235	1,101,353

island's traditional religion) and the Balinese who have become Moslems, the 'Bali Islam'. The figures for the two in 1920 and 1930, and those for the non-Balinese Indonesian population of the island, are given in Table 3.

162 563 TABLE 3: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP ON BALI, 1920 AND 1930

Group	1920		1930	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	920,394	97.84	1,062,885	97.33
Bali Islam	13,027	1.38	16,992	1.56
Indonesians from elsewhere	7,356	0.78	12,160	1.11
Total	940,777	100.00	1,092,037	100.00

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

As Table 4 shows, the region of Gianyar was far more than 99 per cent. Bali Hindu, while the figure for Jĕmbrana was less than 80 per cent. 162 563

TABLE 4: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP IN TWO BALINESE REGIONS, 1930

Group	Gianyar		Jembrana	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	163,351	99.87	37,063	79.33
Bali Islam	81	0.05	7,730	16.55
Indonesians from elsewhere	131	0.08	1,926	4.12
Total	163,563	100.00	46,719	100.00

The towns are of course less homogeneous than the countryside. This is in turn more true of Singaraja, the administrative seat and chief port, than of Den Pasar, as can be seen in Table 5. [369]

TABLE 5: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP IN TWO BALINESE TOWNS, 1930

Group	Singaraja		Den Pasar	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	6,999	67.94	14,0[illegible]	92.31
Bali Islam	1,430	13.97	62	0.41
Indonesians from elsewhere	1,864	18.09	1,105	7.28
Total	10,302	100.00	15,[illegible]	100.00

There is no reason to assume that these general ratios have changed significantly since 1930, though the European group has grown smaller, the Bali Hindu group has lost some four thousand persons who were converted to Christianity, and the group of Indonesians from elsewehere (largely Moslems) has probably increased. With one exception, then, the percentages give an approximate impression of the present-day situation. The exception is Jĕmbrana, where the Bali-Hindu percentage has definitely increased as a result of transmigration from other parts of Bali. For reliable and accurate data on the present

1:Franken et al / M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

162 563 situation it will of course be necessary to wait until the next census.

3

Race, Origin, Language

144 The Balinese, like the large majority of the other inhabitants of Indonesia, are classified as Malays, who are usually included in the Palaeo-Mongolid sub-race.[8] In the sub-division into Early and Late Malays the Balinese belong to the latter group.

144 175 The ancestors of the Indonesians must originally have lived in what is now Yunan, in southwest China. Around 2000 B.C. they began to trek southwards from the mountains to the coast of Farther India, and roughly five hundred years later crossed over to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and to the other islands. When they settled on Bali is not known with any precision.[9]

197 The present-day languages of Indonesia are cognate, and together constitute the Indonesian language family. Inside that family there are several groups of more closely related languages. Balinese, together with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of western Sumbawa, constitutes one such group.[10] In structure and syntax, then, it is more closely related to those languages than to Javanese. In the course of history,[11] however, Old Javanese (and, either directly or *via* Old Javanese, Sanskrit)[12] has had a great influence on the Balinese vocabulary, as regards not only terms for cultural elements borrowed, but also everyday terms. Hence the position of Balinese in the Indonesian language family is comparable to that of English in the Indo-Germanic family. English, too, is very closely related to the languages of one group, the Germanic, but in the course of history has been strongly influenced by Latin and French, two languages of another group, the Italic.

195 192 576 Balinese also has in common with Javanese its use of the so-called 'vocabularies of courtesy'.[13] The Balinese determines his choice of words according to the social relation between the

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

person he is speaking to or speaking about and himself. Hence in Balinese one has to cope with three special vocabularies within the language, each of which includes some hundreds of words. One employs the ordinary, common language when speaking with intimates, equals, or inferiors; polite terms must be used as soon as one begins to speak to one's superiors or to strangers; and 'deferential' terms are obligatory in all cases when one is so bold as to speak of parts of the body or of the acts, possessions, or qualities of important people. The Balinese sum up the last two vocabularies under the term *alus* ('fine' or 'noble'). Naturally these two are intermingled, since the person to whom one speaks politely has the right to make use of deferential terms for everything concerning his own sphere of thought, action, and being.

Thus in Balinese one encounters many doublets and triplets which are almost synonymous, but different in degree of deference, politeness, or familiarity. One who speaks familiarly to an important person or uses colloquial terms concerning a superior is guilty of rudeness. Such rudeness could lead in some cases to an indictment in court, since the use of the deferential vocabulary is closely related to caste prerogatives. One who uses the deferential terms to his equals or inferiors is naturally not punishable, but his speech is regarded as ridiculous. Nor does one use the deferential terms in speaking of oneself. That would be the extreme of arrogance.

4

Balinese Agriculture

Bali is renowned for its *sawahs*, its irrigated ricefields. And even where wet-rice cultivation is impossible, it is a predominantly agricultural land. In 1930 seventy-five out of every hundred persons gainfully employed were in agriculture, which there almost without exception follows the indigenous Indonesian pattern. There are foreign-owned plantations only in Jembrana and the part of Buleleng to the west of Pulaki; the total area of such plantation lands amounted to some 6,800 acres in 1954.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[8] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Pandĕk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members. 623 626

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records. [587]

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one. 623 565 162

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕlen*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership. 623 571

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the 623 624

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

5 These stones are reminiscent of the *watu kulumpang* of early Java: see Krom, *Geschiedenis*, 176. The *pura kaki dukun* is sometimes as called the *pusĕh kaki dukun*.

6 Similar tales are given in Van Eck, "Schetsen", IX, 117, and Powell, *Paradise*, 82.

7 See Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, I, 300, and Damsté, "Oudheden", 72 f.

8 According to bronze epigraphs, in early times the name of the village was Tranganan: *cf.* Goris, *Prasasti*, II, 324.

9 A similar prohibition exists in the *Bali-aga desa* of Sĕmbiran: "Grondenrecht", 383.

10 The population of Tĕnganan at the time this study was made (1926) was as follows:

		Exclusive of Pande Banjar		*Banjar of Pande*	
Males					
	Adults	180		69	
	Children (1½+)	34		15	
	Infants (<1½)	13		7	
	All males		*227*		*91*
Females					
	Adults	144		72	
	Children (1½+)	26		20	
	Infants (<1½)	18		5	
	All females		*188*		*97*
Total population			*415*		*188*

11 It should be mentioned that the *pĕrbĕkĕl* I Panggu, a well-known *balian* in Tĕnganan, rejects the authority of the *usadas*: *cf.* Weck, *Heilkunde*, 29 f.

12 Data on these fabrics can be found in Nieuwenkamp, *Bali*, 206–213, while Damsté, "Weefsels", recounts the occasions at which *gĕringsing* cloths are used on Bali and mentions the miraculous powers attributed to them. The various stages in the weaving of Tĕnganan fabrics were demonstrated at an exhibition organized in August, 1927, at The Hague by the Society of Friends of Asian Art. On the use of Tĕnganan cloths by Sasaks on Lombok, see *Verslag*, 3 ff.

13 In point of fact, the Tĕngananese women prefer not to sell their products, and if they do sell them it is as a favour to the buyer.

14 See also Berg, *Traditie*, 50 n.

15 See Damsté, "Weefsels", 180 f.

16 For northern Bali see Moojen, *Kunst*, Plate XXIII. The *galunggang* is mentioned in the Buahan copper epigraph E, dated 1103 *Çaka* (1181 A.D.): see Van Stein Callenfels, "Epigraphia", 41.

II: LEGAL COMMUNITIES IN TĔNGANAN

1 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 84.

2 The *pusĕh* is the temple of origin for the *desa* as a whole. The *paibons* point towards a manner of worship such as is also to be found in some other *desas* of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation — a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

of pure European stock, the rest being Eurasians and certain Balinese, Javanese, Chinese, and Japanese who are given equal standing with Europeans by a decree making them "Staatsblad Europeanen."

For those interested in knowing something of the racial origins of the Balinese, it may be added that they are by no means a pure race, but a complicated mixture of the native aborigines, with superimposed layers of higher cultures of various types.[1] The Balinese are descendants of a pure "Indonesian" race mixed with the Hindus of Central and East Java, who were themselves Indonesians of Hindu culture, with Indian and Chinese blood. To these mixtures are further added traces of the Polynesian and Melanesian, the result being a picturesque variety of types among the Balinese: from the noble Hindu and Northern Chinese, to the Malay-Javanese, Polynesian, and even Papuan. While some have sleek hair, high nose bridges, and cream-yellow skins, some are dark and curly-haired like South Sea Islanders. Some have large almond eyes, often with the "Mongoloid" fold, convex

[1] The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago were "Indonesians," also called Malayo-Polynesians, Austronesians, Malaysians, and so forth. Of these, pure branches are to be found today in the Dyak of Borneo, the Batak of Sumatra, the Toradja of Celebes, and the Igorot the Philippines. They are called by anthropologists "Proto-Malaysians" to differentiate them from the "Deutero-Malaysians," those with Hindu, Chinese, and Arabic mixtures.

The original Indonesians perhaps came to the islands long before our era, probably from Southern China about 2000 B.C. (Heine-Geldern), found extremely primitive aborigines of the Vedoic or Negrito type already there, perhaps the most undeveloped form of humanity. The Indonesians spread their culture over the islands and introduced the cultivation of rice, outrigger canoes, domestic animals — pigs, dogs, chickens, and water-buffaloes — ironwork, mats, pottery, megalithic monuments, and probably the making of tapa cloth. They were often head-hunters and cannibals, and Dr. D. J. H. Nyessen suggests that they may have been the ancestors of the Polynesians.

The islands were at the crossroads of the ancient sea-routes, favoured by winds and currents, so the natives mixed freely with the peoples of neighbouring regions: India, China, Arabia, and the Melanesian and Polynesian islands. The Hindus established great colonies that became powerful empires, like Madiapahit in Java and Srivijaya in Sumatra, and they exerted a marked influence upon the Indonesians, but they did not come in great numbers and were eventually absorbed. The same happened to the Chinese, who had come to Java since the beginning of our era, and it is possible that part of the army of Kublai Khan became incorporated into the native population around 1292, when Chinese influence predominated over the Hindu. I have been told by Chinese scholars that at one time they considered Bali as their colony.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

593 562 manages the house and the finances of the family, and at times she even keeps her husband. We have seen that the majority of the women of average class work and have their own incomes. [422] [428] They own their clothes, their jewellery, and the household utensils, as well as the pigs and chickens of the house. The man, of course, owns the house itself, the ricefields, the cattle, and his implements, and inheritance is invariably along the male line. The woman has absolute rights over her income and owns her share of the money earned by their combined efforts, although the husband is the administrator of this money. In general the [592] man is the acknowledged master of the household and represents the family before the law and before the gods, who are his own ancestors.

841 But once a month, during menstrual time, a wife's life is not a happy one; to her physical handicap is added the powerful taboo of pollution (*sebel*) which then falls upon her: she is forbidden to go into the temple, into the kitchen or the granary, or to the well. She may not prepare food nor, of course, make offerings or participate at feasts, and the wife of a high priest may not even speak to her exalted husband. No man would dream of sleeping in the same room with a woman in this condition; the average man moves into the house of a friend, but the wife of a nobleman has to look for a place to sleep, far from her husband. In the palace of a prince there is often a secluded compartment where his wives retire while menstruating. When the period is over, a woman has to be purified again with sprinkling of holy water before she can resume normal life. Perhaps because the Balinese [754] believe that a man can be bewitched, losing all his will to the woman who can anoint his head with menstrual blood, they have such mortal horror of being near a woman during the time of menstruation.

595 The Balinese are reputedly polygamous, but the great majority – about ninety-five per cent – have only one wife. It was gener- ● 162 ally believed that there are considerably more women than men in Bali, but the last census (1930) gives the figures as 561,874

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

males as against 576,543 females, or 49.35 per cent men and 50.65 per cent women, a percentage of women that is even below normal. Men of the nobility often have two, three, four, and even more wives, and old records mention Radjas with as many as two hundred. This is a thing of the past, however, and there are few people today who can afford more than one wife. But the Balinese are naturally polygamous and it is common for men to have lovers and for women to take the extra-marital relations of their husbands as natural.

If a man brings home a second wife, the first is not expected to show jealousy, but unpleasant situations develop if the man takes a new wife without the knowledge of his first wife. Such was the case in our household and we often had to mediate between the two wives of our host in violent squabbles that exploded for the most trivial causes. I remain under the impression, however, that it was often wounded pride rather than sentimental jealousy that brought about the tense situations, and with other families of polygamous Balinese we knew this was so. The younger wife of a friend took care of the elder wife's child, and when they visited us together one would have taken them for sisters, such was the affection they showed for each other. Often another woman with whom to share the house means company and help to the first, and thus she is welcomed, especially if the new wife was chosen, as often happens, by the first wife.

Two wives in one home have separate houses to sleep in and often they do not even live together. Many Balinese live with the first wife in the ancestral home and keep their subsequent wives in other houses and even in different villages, visiting them once in a while and only bringing them together at festivals where they all must pray together. They agree that this is the most convenient arrangement, and our harassed host confided to me that in future lives he would be wiser and would marry only once.

The free and easy status of women of the average class is not enjoyed by women of the aristocracy; their husbands are absolute masters and they live restricted and secluded in the palace,

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.